

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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R 241105Z SEP 75
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4271

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 BUDAPEST 3098

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, HU
SUBJECT: THE CROWN OF ST. ISTVAN -- A WASTING ASSET?

REF: BUDAPEST 2376
SOFIA 2025 (DEPTO 34)

I. SUMMARY

1. THE HUNGARIAN ROYAL CROWN AND REGALIA HAVE BEEN AND WILL REMAIN THE TOUCHSTONE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. AS THE COLD WAR FADES INTO MEMORY AND THE CONTENTIOUS ISSUES OF BYGONE YEARS MELT AND BECOME LESS JAGGED, THE CONTINUED POSSESSION OF THE CROWN OF ST. ISTVAN BY THE UNITED STATES -- AFTER MORE THAN THREE DECADES -- LOOMS EVER MORE CLEARLY ON CENTER STAGE AS THE KEY UNRESOLVED QUESTION.

2. THE UNITED STATES HAS REPEATEDLY STATED PUBLICLY THAT THE CROWN IS THE PROPERTY OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE; AND THAT THE CROWN IS BEING HELD IN TRUST UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. THESE REPEATED STATEMENTS HAVE CREATED THE IMPRESSION IN MANY MINDS THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT INTEND TO RETAIN CUSTODY OF THE CROWN IN PERPETUITY. CONVERSELY, THOSE SAME STATEMENTS HAVE LED MANY TO BELIEVE THAT THE USG HAS MORALLY COMMITTED

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ITSELF TO RETURN THE CROWN TO HUNGARY AT SOME POINT IN

THE FUTURE. THE LACK OF MFN CONSTRICTS COMMERCE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, IT PINCHES BUDAPEST'S SMALL PURSE, AND IN MANY RESPECTS IT IS FOR HUNGARY A MORE PRESSING AND URGENT QUESTION; BUT THE CROWN IS THE SINGLE IMPORTANT PSYCHO-POLITICAL ISSUE THAT CONCERNS ALL HUNGARIANS EVERYWHERE; AND MANY TOP LEADERS IN BUDAPEST ASSERT -- NOW THAT THE HELSINKI SUMMIT DECLARATION HAS BEEN SIGNED -- THAT IT IS THE LAST MAJOR COLD WAR ISSUE THAT THIS EASTERN COUNTRY HAS TO RESOLVE WITH ANY WESTERN COUNTRY. RE-POSSESSION OF THE CROWN HAS SPECIAL AND PERSONAL MEANING FOR FIRST SECRETARY JANOS KADAR; ITS RETURN TO ITS TRADITIONAL REPOSITORY IN BUDA WILL SYMBOLIZE TO FOREIGNERS AND HUNGARIANS ALIKE THAT HE AND HIS ASSOCIATES IN THE GOH HAVE FINALLY SHED THEIR PARIAH STATUS.

3. HAVING TAKEN CAREFUL NOTE OF PRIME MINISTER LAZAR'S JULY 16 OFFICIAL REQUEST THAT THE U.S. RETURN THE CROWN (BUDAPEST 2376) AND THE PARALLEL REQUESTS THAT VERY SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT AND OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY ADDRESSED TO DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL DURING HIS JUST CONCLUDED VISIT (SOFIA 2025), THE EMBASSY BELIEVES IT IS NOW TIMELY FOR THE DEPARTMENT TO CONDUCT A THOROUGH AND BASIC STUDY OF U.S. POLICY WITH RESPECT TO THE CONTINUED RETENTION OF THE CROWN, TO EXAMINE THE OPTIONS AVAILABLE TO U.S. POLICY-MAKERS, TO WEIGH THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE SEVERAL COURSES OF ACTION THAT ONE CAN IDENTIFY, AND THEN TO DETERMINE THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY FOR AMERICAN OFFICIALS TO COPE WITH HUNGARIAN INITIATIVES TO SECURE THE RETURN OF THESE ROYAL OBJECTS.

4. ACCORDINGLY, THIS EMBASSY SO RECOMMENDS; AND IT HAS PROVIDED BELOW SOME OF ITS OWN INSIGHTS AND SEVERAL QUESTIONS WHICH POLITICAL ANALYSTS IN WASHINGTON WILL NO DOUBT WISH TO EXPLORE IN DEPTH IN THE COURSE OF THEIR STUDY. END SUMMARY.

II. BACKGROUND

5. THIRTY YEARS HAVE NOW ELAPSED SINCE EARLY JUNE 1945 WHEN ELEMENTS OF THE HUNGARIAN CROWN GUARD TURNED OVER TO THE UNITED STATES ARMY THE CROWN, VARIOUS OTHER REVERED OBJECTS,

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AND 40 TONS OF GOLD. IN TIME THE GOLD AND SOME OF THE ROYAL OBJECTS WERE RETURNED TO HUNGARY; BUT THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF 1948, THE STALINIST LEADERSHIP OF RAKOSI, THE RED ARMY'S SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1956 AND THE MANNER IN WHICH JANOS KADAR VAULTED TO POWER MADE A DEEP AND LASTING IMPRESSION ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND ON THOSE WHO REPRESENT THEM. BUT THOSE EVENTS OCCURRED A LONG TIME AGO. THE ECHOES OF THE VITUPERATIVE

DEBATES IN THE UNGA HAVE DIED AWAY; THE 1956-1971
MINDSZENTY INTERLUDE NO LONGER POISONS BILATERAL RELATIONS;
AND EVEN THE CARDINAL HIMSELF HAS LEFT THE SCENE.

6. OVER ONE-QUARTER OF HUNGARY'S POPULATION WAS BORN AFTER
1956. THE BITTERNESS OF THE 200,000 WHO FLED IN THAT YEAR
HAS ALSO FADED; AND MORE THAN A FEW THOUSAND HAVE RETURNED
TO THE LAND OF THEIR BIRTH IN RECENT YEARS TO VACATION WITH
FAMILY AND FRIENDS. A WHOLE GENERATION OF HUNGARIAN
STALINISTS HAS DIED OR BEEN SHUNTED ASIDE; AND AMERICAN-
HUNGARIAN RELATIONS HAVE IMPROVED SLOWLY, HALTINGLY BUT STEADILY
IN THE SAME TIME SPAN. THE FACE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS
HAS CHANGED, AS WAS SO VISIBLY DEMONSTRATED THIS PAST
SUMMER WHEN LEADERS AND HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THIRTY-FIVE
NATIONS GATHERED AT THE HELSINKI SUMMIT.

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EXDIS

7. IN MARCH 1975 AT THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS, FOREIGN MINISTER
FRIGYES PUJA WENT ON THE RECORD AND SAID IN PUBLIC SESSION
THAT THE CROWN REMAINS AN OUTSTANDING ISSUE VEXING RELATIONS
BETWEEN HUNGARY AND THE U.S. IN JULY, PRIME MINISTER
GYORGY LAZAR MADE -- TO THE BEST OF THIS EMBASSY'S
KNOWLEDGE -- THE FIRST OFFICIAL REPEAT OFFICIAL MOVE
IN HUNGARY'S ATTEMPT TO REGAIN POSSESSION OF THE CROWN
WHEN HE ORALLY BUT FORMALLY REQUESTED AMBASSADOR MCAULIFFE
TO ADVISE SENIOR AUTHORITIES IN WASHINGTON THAT THE GOH
WANTS THE CROWN RETURNED. LAZAR'S REQUEST IS ALSO, TO
THE BEST OF THE EMBASSY'S KNOWLEDGE, THE VERY FIRST SUCH

OFFICIAL REQUEST BY A PRIME MINISTER. AND IN MID-SEPTEMBER 1975 DURING THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S VISIT TO BUDAPEST, ANDRAS GYENES, A SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, AND FOREIGN MINISTER PUJA VOICED THE SELF SAME REQUEST TO MR. INGERSOLL. AFTER HAVING WAITED FOR THIRTY YEARS, THE HUNGARIANS HAVE NOW PUT THE U.S. ON NOTICE PUBLICLY, PRIVATELY AND OFFICIALLY THAT THEY WISH TO SECURE THE RETURN OF THE ROYAL PROPERTY THAT BELONGS TO THEM.

8. AT AN EARLIER TIME THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT WITH AMAZING NAIVETE EXPECTED THE USG TO DISCUSS THE CROWN FOLLOWING THE SEPTEMBER 1971 DEPARTURE FROM THE EMBASSY OF CARDINAL MINDSZENTY. THE CONCLUSION OF A CONSULAR AGREEMENT (JULY 1972) AND A CLAIMS AGREEMENT (MARCH 1973),
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AND THE 1972 VISIT OF FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS AND FORMER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE DENT CAUSED THEIR UNFOUNDED HOPES TO SOAR EVEN HIGHER. THEN CAME THE TRADE ACT OF 1974 WHICH DASHED HUNGARIAN HOPES FOR MFN; AND IT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THEIR OWN CLUB-FOOTED PERFORMANCE ON THE ICCS IN VIETNAM WHICH TRANSFORMED DREAMS INTO UNRELIEVED GLOOM.

9. HOWEVER, HAVING DISCOVERED THE POWER OF THE U.S. CONGRESS THROUGH THE MFN EPISODE, THE GOH BEGAN TO PROSELYTIZE IN THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH, PARTICULARLY THROUGH MEETINGS WITH CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS VISITING BUDAPEST. THAT CAMPAIGN ACHIEVED SCANT BUT TANGIBLE SUCCESS IN A) THE REPORT OF THE WILSON DELEGATION (HOUSE REPORT ENTITLED "EUROPE, SOUTH AND EAST: REDEFINING THE AMERICAN INTEREST", MARCH 1974) AND B) REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES WILSON'S (D-TEXAS) RECENTLY INTRODUCED HOUSE RESOLUTION REQUESTING THE PRESIDENT TO RETURN THE CROWN.

10. IN THE AUTUMN OF 1975, HOWEVER, IT APPEARS THAT THE GOH -- AFTER HAVING INSTRUCTED FERENC ESZTERGALYOS, THEIR NEW AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON, TO MAKE CONTACTS AND CREATE A MOOD OF UNDERSTANDING WHEREVER POSSIBLE ON CAPITOL HILL -- IS DEVOTING MOST OF ITS ATTENTION TO THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND VERY SPECIFICALLY TO SECRETARY KISSINGER. IF THE STORIES REACHING THIS EMBASSY ARE EVEN HALF TRUE, THE HUNGARIANS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN CONVINCING THEMSELVES THAT THE "UNOFFICIAL AND PRIVATE" JULY 1975 VISIT TO BUDAPEST BY MRS. NELSON ROCKEFELLER AND HER DAUGHTERS, THE SECRETARY'S AUGUST 1 MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER PUJA IN HELSINKI, THE SEPTEMBER 1975 VISITS BY DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE DOWNEY, BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION BINDER AND BY DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE INGERSOLL TO BE

FOLLOWED BY THE COMING OF SECRETARY OF COMMERCE ROGERS MORTON IN EARLY OCTOBER WERE ALL CONTRIVED BY SOME WASHINGTON WIZARD -- VERY LIKELY DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER. IF THESE EVENTS MEAN THAT BUDAPEST CAN DISTILL SOME USEFUL PRODUCT FROM THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI, THE HUNGARIANS FEEL A STRONG CRAVING TO IMBIBE.

11. ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE EQUATION, THIS EMBASSY HAS
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HEARD HINTS IN MONTHS PAST FROM HIGH-RANKING HUNGARIANS THAT IF QUIET DIPLOMACY CONTINUES TO FAIL TO YIELD DESIRED RESULTS, IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF THE CROWN FRONTALLY. FIRST, EMBASSY WASHINGTON MIGHT PRESENT A FORMAL BUT UNPUBLICIZED DIPLOMATIC NOTE TO THE DEPARTMENT. IF THAT MANEUVER FAILS TO PERSUADE THE USG TO ENTER INTO SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT THE RETURN OF THE CROWN, THE GOH MIGHT TRY COERCION. THE GOH MIGHT PUBLICIZE THE ENTIRE ISSUE; IT MIGHT ENLIST THE HELP OF MOSCOW AND OTHER SOCIALIST BROTHERS IN SUPPORTING THE HUNGARIAN DEMARCHE; THEN, IF ALL THESE MANEUVERS WERE TO FAIL, IT MIGHT MAKE THE CROWN A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE IN UNESCO, A BODY WHICH THE GOH BELIEVES IS MUCH MORE LIKELY TO SYMPATHIZE WITH BUDAPEST THAN WITH WASHINGTON.

12. THE VAGUENESS IN THE U.S. PUBLIC POSITION ON THE CROWN HAS CAUSED A USEFUL DEGREE OF UNCERTAINTY AMONG OFFICIALDOM HERE AS TO SPECIFIC DIPLOMATIC STEPS, HUNGARIAN INITIATIVES AND SALUTARY CHANGES IN OVERALL EAST-WEST RELATIONS THAT MUST OCCUR BEFORE THE U.S. WILL CONSENT TO DISCUSS THE RETURN OF THE CROWN TO HUNGARIAN SOIL. THIS VAGUENESS, HOWEVER, HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE GOH'S UNREALISTIC EXPECTATION THAT THE U.S. WOULD DISCUSS THE ISSUE AFTER THE RESOLUTION OF THE CLAIMS AND CONSULAR ISSUES. SOME CRESTFALLEN, MIDDLE-LEVEL HUNGARIANS HERE HAVE WITHIN THE PAST YEAR EXPRESSED THEIR OWN DOUBTS THAT THE U.S. WILL EVER RETURN THE CROWN; AND THEY ASK WHY THE GOH SHOULD TAKE ANY ACTION TO RESOLVE OUTSTANDING BILATERAL ISSUES WHEN WASHINGTON CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN A STONEY SILENCE ON THE ONE QUESTION THAT IS OF TRANSCENDANT IMPORTANCE TO ALL HUNGARIANS.

13. IN RECENT YEARS MOST FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT THE U.S. DOMESTIC SCENE AND AWARE OF THE POLITICAL SENSITIVITY OF THE CROWN IN SEVERAL PARTS OF THE U.S. HAVE COUNSELLED AGAINST A MORE CONTENTIOUS STAND OR ANY ATTEMPT TO EMBARRASS THE U.S.; AND THEIR VIEWS HAVE PREVAILED. THEY HAVE ARGUED THAT A MORE AGGRESSIVE STANCE BY BUDAPEST WOULD ONLY STIR UP THE VOCAL CONSERVATIVE HUNGARIAN-AMERICANS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS IN CONGRESS. BUT

HUNGARY'S GOVERNMENT AND PARTY LEADERS NOW APPEAR TO BE
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QUESTIONING THAT ASSUMPTION: THEY REALIZE THAT THE
CONGRESS NOW CHALLENGES THE EXECUTIVE ON MANY ISSUES,
INCLUDING FOREIGN POLICY ONES; THEY HAVE HEARD THAT THERE
IS A YOUNGER, ANTI-COLD WAR BREED ON CAPITOL HILL. THE
GOH'S PARTIAL SUCCESS IN PERSUADING U.S. CONGRESSIONAL
VISITORS OF THE RIGHTNESS OF THEIR POSITION MAY HAVE
CONVINCED SOME HUNGARIAN LEADERS THAT THEY HAVE A CASE
THAT WILL BE HEARD BY AN EVER YOUNGER AND MORE SYMPATHETIC
AUDIENCE IN THE U.S.

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 4 BUDAPEST 3098

EXDIS

III. POLICY QUESTIONS

14. IN ANY RE-EXAMINATION OR REDEFINITION OF EXISTING
POLICY CONCERNING PRECONDITIONS OR CIRCUMSTANCES WITH
RESPECT TO THE ULTIMATE DISPOSITION OF THE CROWN OF ST. ISTVAN
AND THE OTHER OBJECTS COMPRISING THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN REGALIA,
ONE MIGHT BEGIN BY SEEKING ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

1) IS IT THE POLICY OF THE USG TO RETURN THE CROWN TO
HUNGARY? OR DOES THE U.S. INTEND TO RETAIN THESE

PRECIOUS OBJECTS AS MUSEUM PIECES? IF IT IS THE INTENTION OF THE U.S. TO PURSUE THE LATTER COURSE, SHOULD THE U.S. CONTINUE TO TEMPORIZE WITH THE GOH AND CONTINUE TO ATTACH ADDITIONAL PRECONDITIONS BEFORE A "SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS" CAN BE PRESUMED TO EXIST?

2) DOES THE U.S. POSSESSION OF THE CROWN CONFLICT WITH ANY RESOLUTION AGREED TO BY THE U.S. IN THE UN OR ANY OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUM? IS THE SUBJECT COVERED BY U.S. STATUTE DEALING WITH THE POSSESSION, RETENTION AND CONSERVATION OF DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN NATIONAL ANTIQUITIES?

3) HAS THE U.S. ESTABLISHED A RULE OF THUMB THAT IT INTENDS TO RETAIN THESE HUNGARIAN ARTIFACTS FOR SECRET

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ANOTHER FIVE OR TEN YEARS? IS IT THE POLICY NOT TO RETURN THE CROWN AS LONG AS JANOS KADAR HOLDS OFFICE IN BUDAPEST? IF THIS IS THE CASE, WHAT BONA FIDES OF GOOD CONDUCT WOULD WE REQUIRE FROM HIS SUCCESSOR?

4) CONVERSELY, HAS IT BEEN DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE OR AWKWARD IF THE U.S. WERE TO FIND ITSELF STILL IN POSSESSION OF THE ROYAL CROWN IN 1985, 40 YEARS AFTER THE END OF WORLD WAR II? OR IN THE YEAR 2000, A FULL 1000 YEARS AFTER POPE SYLVESTER II PRESENTED THE CROWN TO KING ISTVAN?

5) ARE THERE SPECIFIC, IDENTIFIABLE STEPS WHICH THE USG EXPECTS THE GOH TO TAKE AS PRECONDITIONS FOR THE CROWN'S RETURN? CAN ONE ENUMERATE ANY OR ALL OF THEM? LESS RESTRICTIVE EMIGRATION PRACTICES? PAYMENT OF ALL OUTSTANDING DEBTS TO THE USG AND CONSEQUENT LIFTING OF JOHNSON ACT BAN? RESOLUTION OF BLOCKED ACCOUNTS ISSUE? PERMISSION TO CONSTRUCT AN AMERICAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE IN BUDAPEST? A FULL AND SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT OF PROBLEMS RELATING TO USG-OWNED PROPERTIES IN HUNGARY? HOW DOES ONE PRIORITIZE THESE ISSUES IN TERMS OF THEIR RELATIVE IMPORTANCE? HOW DOES ONE ORDER THEM IN TERMS OF TIMING? ARE THE U.S. OBJECTIVES OUTLINED IN THE PARA (EUROPARA HUNGARY 1973) CONSISTENT WITH THESE MEASURES?

6) WOULD THE GOH TAKE THESE STEPS IF THEY WERE TO LEARN THAT THERE ARE ESTABLISHED PRECONDITIONS TO RETURN OF THE CROWN? EVEN IF THE GOH WERE TO FULFILL

ALL THESE PRECONDITIONS FULLY AND IN GOOD FAITH, WOULD
THE DOMESTIC SITUATION IN THE U.S. PERMIT THE USG TO
RETURN THE CROWN?

7) HOW BEST CAN THE USG RESPOND TO A FORMAL WRITTEN
REQUEST FROM THE GOH FOR THE CROWN'S RETURN? IS
CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION TO THE RETURN SO
IMPLACABLE AND BROADLY BASED THAT ONE CAN BASE
CONTINGENCY PLANNING ON IT?

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8) IF, AS MORE THAN A FEW HUNGARIAN OFFICIALS NOW
CONJECTURE, THE OPPOSITION OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC
AND THE U.S. CONGRESS TO THE RETURN OF THE CROWN IS
STEADILY ERODING, SHOULD THE ADMINISTRATION
DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH THE LEADERSHIP IN BOTH
HOUSES? SHOULD IT SUGGEST OPEN CONGRESSIONAL
HEARINGS IN AN EFFORT TO TEST PUBLIC SENTIMENT?
WHAT EFFECT WOULD SUCH HEARINGS HAVE ON USG
ENDEAVORS TO ACHIEVE OUR OBJECTIVES IN HUNGARY?
ON THE HOPED-FOR AMENDMENT OF THE TRADE ACT OF
1974 TO NULLIFY THE PROVISIONS OF THE JOHNSON-
VANIK AMENDMENT? ON U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE USSR
AND WITH THE OTHER NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE?

9) IF THOSE HUNGARIAN CONJECTURES ARE ACCURATE AND
WELL-FOUNDED, HOW DOES THE ADMINISTRATION PLAN
TO COPE WITH A SERIOUS ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF THE
LEGISLATURE -- PERHAPS BY A JOINT CONGRESSIONAL
RESOLUTION -- TO FORCE THE USG TO RETURN THE CROWN
WITHOUT ANY OF THE DESIRED PRECONDITIONS HAVING
BEEN MET.

10) CAN ONE USE THE PRESENCE OF THE CROWN IN THE CASTLE
OF BUDA TO STRENGTHEN AMONG THE HUNGARIAN MASSES THEIR
EVER PRESENT CONSCIOUSNESS OF CULTURAL APARTNESS?
WOULD RETURN OF THE ROYAL OBJECTS TO THE ST. MATTHIAS
CHURCH STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF THE HUNGARIAN CLERGY?
WOULD THEIR RETURN ENHANCE MEASURABLY NATIONALISTIC
FEELINGS AMONG THE NON-COMMUNIST POPULACE AND THUS
UNDERCUT "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM"?

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S E C R E T SECTION 4 OF 4 BUDAPEST 3098

EXDIS

11) WHAT ADVANTAGES ACCRUE TO THE U.S. IN THE FUTURE FROM MAINTAINING ITS PRESENT POLICY? IF THE U.S. DECIDES AFTER CAREFUL EXAMINATION TO RETAIN THAT POLICY AND NON-RESPONSE TO HUNGARIAN INQUIRIES, HOW DOES WASHINGTON PLAN TO RESPOND TO A POSSIBLE OFFICIAL NOTE VERBALE? TO POSSIBLE INFORMAL INQUIRIES FROM MOSCOW OR OTHER EAST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS MADE IN HUNGARY'S BEHALF? HOW DOES IT PLAN TO MANAGE THE ISSUE IF HUNGARY WERE TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE AND MAKE THE CROWN THE SUBJECT OF ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE IN UNESCO?

12) IN THE EVENT THAT OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS (FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC) ARE AT SOME FUTURE DATE MET AND THE USG DECIDES TO RETURN THE CROWN OF ST. ISTVAN TO THE GOH, HOW DOES ONE EFFECT THE TRANSFER IN A WAY THAT WILL ACHIEVE MAXIMUM BENEFIT FOR AMERICAN POLICY INTERESTS? DOES ONE HAND IT OVER QUIETLY, UNOSTENTATIOUSLY, ALMOST COVERTLY, IN THE U.S.? OR IN BUDAPEST? OR DOES ONE EFFECT THE HANDOVER (IN WASHINGTON OR BUDAPEST) WITH POMP AND CEREMONY IN A PUBLIC AFFAIRS EFFORT CALCULATED TO MAKE MAGYAR HEARTS BEAT FASTER AND TO HAIL ON THAT OCCASION THE ACHIEVEMENT OF NORMALACY IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS? IF ONE CHOSE THE CEREMONIAL COURSE, WHO WOULD PARTICIPATE ON THE U.S. SIDE:

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THE AMBASSADOR, THE DIRECTOR OF THE SMITHSONIAN, THE SECRETARY, THE VICE PRESIDENT? WHAT ARE THE

ATTENDANT ADVANTAGES (AND DISADVANTAGES) OF
STAGING SUCH A CEREMONY IN CONNECTION WITH THE OFFICIAL
VISIT OF A SENIOR HUNGARIAN TO WASHINGTON? OR WITH
THE VISIT OF A SENIOR AMERICAN TO BUDAPEST?

IV. ACTION REQUESTED

15. THAT THE DEPARTMENT UNDERTAKE A BASIC RE-EXAMINATION
OF U.S. POLICY CONCERNING THE RETENTION/RETURN OF THE CROWN
OF ST. ISTVAN, THAT IT LIST THE OPTIONS AND ALTERNATIVES
CURRENTLY AVAILABLE TO THE U.S., THAT IT DEFINE THE COURSES
OF ACTION WHICH ONE MIGHT TAKE IN THE EVENT THAT CERTAIN
IDENTIFIABLE CONTINGENCIES WERE TO DEVELOP. THIS EMBASSY
WILL OF COURSE BE PLEASED TO ASSIST THE DEPARTMENT AS
THAT STUDY PROGRESSES WITH ALL THE RESOURCES AT ITS
DISPOSAL.
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